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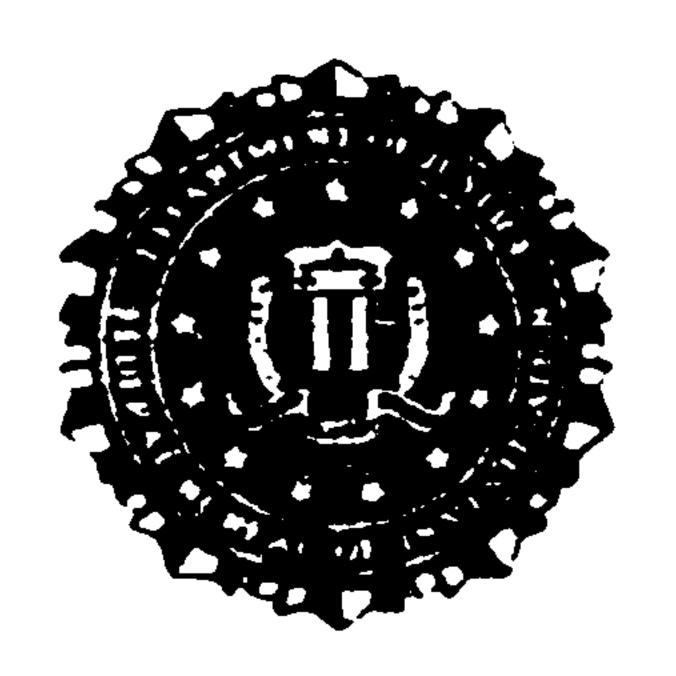
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COMMUNIST PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES

Part III
Techniques

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
John Edgar Hoover, Director

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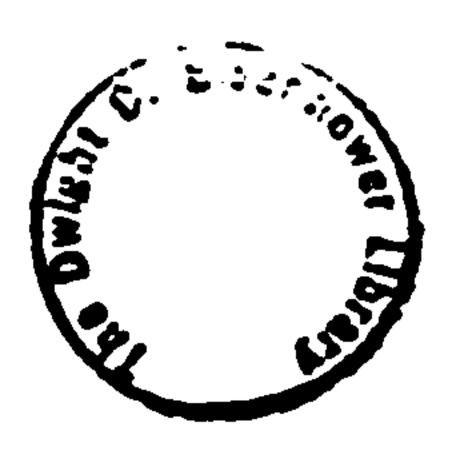
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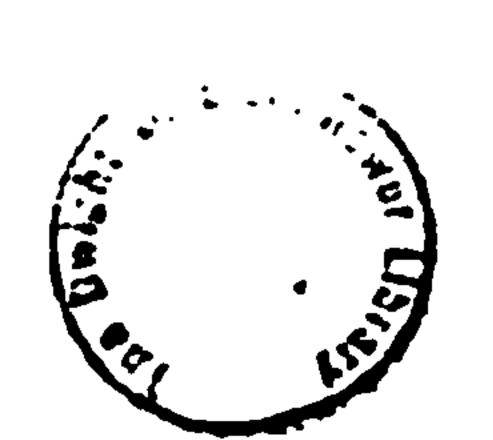
PREFACE

This monograph is the third in a series of studies on various aspects of communist propaganda in the United States from the birth of the American communist movement in 1919 to the present time.

This monograph lists and analyzes a variety of propaganda techniques or devices employed by communists to aid them in disseminating propaganda favorable to the cause of communism.

The material contained in this monograph has been compiled from both public and confidential sources. The public sources are set forth at the end of the monograph. The confidential sources are being retained by this Bureau.





SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A. Summary

Communists have made extensive, expert, and effective use of a variety of standard, time-tested propaganda techniques or devices to influence, condition, and manipulate the minds of the American public. Through such methods, communists endeavor to make people receptive and responsive to communist ideas and objectives.

Lack of knowledge, emotions, prejudice, insecurity, instability, and unrest are factors which contribute to the success of propaganda.

Communist propagandists have, therefore, geared their propaganda to exploit the basic emotions, prejudices, traits, attitudes, and weaknesses inherent in people.

The propaganda devices employed by communists to gain adherents and supporters for the communist movement perform several functions. These functions are: to arouse interest, to manipulate the issue, to establish "proof," and to neutralize the opposition.

B. Conclusions

1. Various propaganda techniques are used by communist propagandists for attracting attention and arousing interest. These devices are designed to present communism and the Communist Party in a favorable, respectable, and altruistic light to the American people.



- 2. Numerous methods are utilized by communists for manipulating the issue in order to develop and achieve favorable reaction to and association with communist aims and policies. Devices of this type rely on emphasizing, minimizing, ignoring, or twisting facts to serve communist ends.
- 3. A variety of techniques are employed by communists for establishing 'proof.' By these devices, communists seek to augment and bolster communist claims and programs.
- 4. A number of counterpropaganda techniques are resorted to by communists for the purpose of damaging, neutralizing, or destroying their enemies.
- 5. The principal counterpropaganda technique utilized by communists is smearing. They have made extreme use of it, especially against high Government officials. Smearing is consciously calculated to create an unfavorable impression on or reaction from the public.
- 6. Of all the propaganda devices employed by communists, slogans are the most important. Slogans are the backbone of communist propaganda work. Every tactic, policy, program, and campaign is reduced to a slogan, whenever possible. Communists have used slogans widely, adroitly, and effectively.



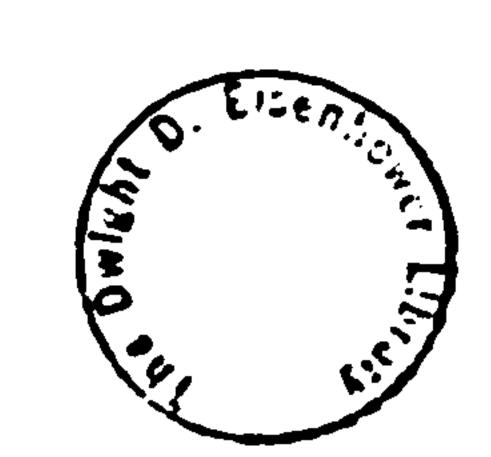
L FACTORS AIDING RECEPTIVITY

In the process of winning adherents and supporters to a cause, a variety of standard propaganda techniques or devices have long been utilized by all propagandists. These techniques are employed to influence, condition, and manipulate people's minds in order to make them receptive and responsive to certain concepts, ideas, and aims. Communists have refined and perfected these propaganda methods and have used them more extensively and with more proficiency and effectiveness than any other propagandists in history.

Every propaganda device capitalizes on or exploits some basic prejudice, attitude, trait, predisposition, or weakness inherent in the people subjected to the propaganda. Propagandists do not present the people with sufficient or pertinent facts by which they are able to reach their own conclusions. Instead, their objective is to evoke in the public an automatic, emotional reaction or response. To achieve this objective, propagandists do the thinking for the people they are propagandizing.

A number of salient factors serve to aid propagandists in their work. The first factor is the lack of knowledge or information possessed by people regarding certain questions, problems, and issues. Through incessant emphasis and repetition, propaganda frequently can be made to appear to be the truth in the minds of many uninformed or uneducated people.

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A second factor benefiting propagandists is emotions.

Propagandists are fully cognizant that emotional drives are infinitely more powerful in most people than are the rational or intellectual drives.

Propagandists, therefore, adapt their propaganda to people's emotions rather than to their intellects.

The third factor is prejudice. Prejudice is a product of emotions and irrationality. Most people, including those of intelligence, have biases of one sort or another, and propagandists make it a point to appeal to and nurture these prejudices for their own advantage. People with strong prejudices generally are ready prey for propaganda.

Another factor which helps propagandists is personal insecurity and instability. People lacking security and stability are usually so disconsolate as to be especially susceptible to the panaceas offered by propagandists.

The last important factor is the general atmosphere of political, social, and economic unrest, uncertainty, and instability which has prevailed throughout most of the world for a number of years. People who entertain doubts as to the American way of life, who are fearful of the future of this Nation in particular and the world in general, are ripe for the insidious and specious propaganda which promises a quick and ready answer and solution to all their doubts, anxieties, and problems.



The propaganda devices used in the process of gaining adherents and supporters perform several functions. These functions can be characterized generally as follows: to arouse interest, to manipulate the issue, to establish "proof," and to neutralize the opposition. Propagandists have at their disposal a variety of techniques and those they select will depend on the specific reaction or response they desire to achieve. The principal propaganda devices used by communists will now be enumerated (1) (2) and discussed in succeeding pages.



II. TECHNIQUES FOR AROUSING INTEREST

A number of propaganda techniques are employed by communists for attracting attention and arousing interest. These devices are specifically designed to present communism and the Communist Party in a favorable, respectable, and altruistic light. The chief techniques of this type are: slogans, symbolization, respectability, cloak of virtue, stereotyping, (3 rose-colored glasses, deification, plain folks, distortion, timing, and staging.

A. Slogans

The slogan is recognized by communists the world over as the keystone of their propaganda work. Every tactic, policy, program, and campaign is deliberately and almost universally reduced to a slogan. No organization in history has given more thought or emphasis to slogans, or used them so widely, so adroitly, and so effectively as has the Communist Party. Communists know the psychological effect of the reiteration of slogans upon people, and for this reason they use them to the saturation (4) point.

Slogans are timely, simple, colorful, synoptic catchwords, phrases, or sentences designed to be repeated and remembered. Normally they are composed of alliterative, euphonious, or rhyming words to create

a provocative effect. Communist slogans feature a dynamic, emphatic, and imperative style and tone, usually beginning with such words as "Fight," "Smash," "Strike," "Mobilize," "Demand," "Support," "Protest," "Hands (5)
Off," "Organize," and "Down with."

Joseph Stalin defined a slogan as follows:

"...a brief and clear formulation of the aims of the struggle, near or remote, given by the leading group, let us say, of the proletariat, its party. Slogans vary in accordance with the different aims of the struggle, which embrace either a whole historical (6) period or individual phases and episodes of the given historical period...."

The type of slogans communists advance is contingent, as

Stalin indicated, upon prevailing social, economic, and political conditions.

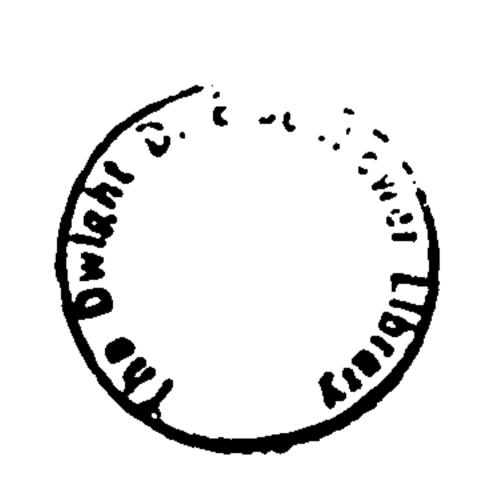
In the United States, for instance, communists today would not consider propagandizing some militant, revolutionary slogan demanding the immediate overthrow of the Government. They realize that this would be foolish, impractical, and incapable of achievement. Instead, they devise and circulate such slogans as those demanding higher wages for workers, condemning war and fascism, and defending the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. If, however, conditions in this country were to become favorable in future years for revolution, communists would then make corresponding changes in the content of their slogans.

One of the most effective propaganda slogans ever employed was that contrived by the Russian Bolsheviks after the Russian Revolution of March, 1917* -- "Bread, Peace, Freedom!" This Bolshevik slogan appealed equally to the three most important segments of the Russian population -- the starving city dwellers, the dispirited soldiers, and the impoverished peasants. The slogan contributed materially to rallying the Russian people behind the Bolsheviks in their sweep into power in October, 1917.

Communist slogans in the United States have vividly mirrored the tactics, policies, programs, and activities of the Communist Party, USA, in the 38 years of its existence. These slogans clearly reflect the many changes in the Communist Party line which occurred during these years.

In the 1920's and early 1930's, some of the more popular and dramatic communist slogans were: "Workers of the World, Unite," "Organize the Unorganized," "Every Town a Union Town," "Get Wise, Organize," "Every Factory a Fortress of Communism," "Self-determination for the Black Belt," "Art Is a Weapon," "Black and White, Unite and Fight," "Reach the Millions with Our Literature," and "Free the Scottsboro Boys."

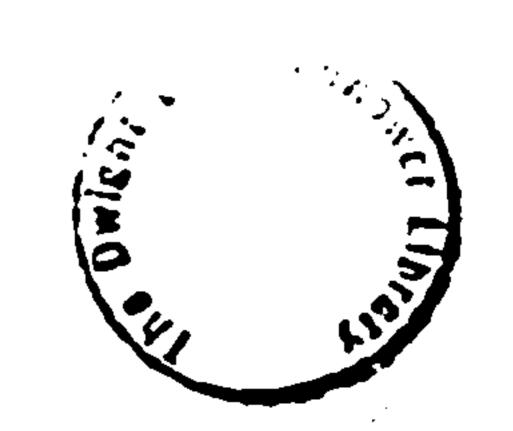
^{*} Contrary to popular belief, the Bolsheviks did not overthrow the czarist regime. This was accomplished in the Russian Revolution of March, 1917, by noncommunist leaders, who then formed a provisional government of moderate political complexion. The Bolsheviks did not seize power until the Revolution of October, 1917.



In the middle and late 1930's, communists coined such slogans as "Communism Is Twentieth Century Americanism," "Abolish the ROTC," "Scholarships, Not Battleships," "Defend the Soviet Union, the Bulwark of Peace and Democracy," "Keep America Out of War by Keeping War Out of the World," "End the Embargo against Spain," "Down with War and Fascism," and "Jim Crow Has Got to Go."

Outstanding communist slogans during the period between the outbreak of World War II and the German invasion of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) were "The Yanks Are NOT Coming" and "Get Out and Stay Out of the Imperialist War." After Pearl Harbor, such slogans as "Open the Second Front Now" and "Not an Idle Man, Not an Idle Machine, Not an Idle Acre" were widely circulated.

Communist slogans in the period immediately following World War II voiced these demands: "Bring Our Boys Back Home," "Withdraw American Troops from China and the Philippines," "Stop American Intervention in China," "Stop the Use of GI's as Pawns of the State Department," "Strengthen the American-Soviet-British Coalition for a World Peace," "Mobilize America for 60,000,000 Jobs, Not for a Disastrous Armaments Race," and "A Butter, Not Guns, Program."



During the Korean War, popular communist slogans were:

"End Germ Warfare," "Stop the Sacrifice of American Lives," "Peace
by Christmas," "Recall MacArthur Now," and "For a Peaceful Settlement
in Korea."

Communist slogans in recent years have proclaimed: "Spend for Human Welfare, Not Warfare," "Let's Build More Dams, Not Bombs," "Free the Rosenbergs," and "Coexistence or No Existence."

Communist propagandists are adept at altering slogans to meet changing conditions. During the early stage of World War II, for instance, when Germany and the Soviet Union were joined by a nonaggression pact, the most popular communist slogan was "The Yanks Are NOT Coming." After the Nazis attacked the USSR, communists immediately clamored for a second front, and this slogan was transformed into "The Yanks Are NOT Coming Too Late."

B. Symbolization

Symbolization is a means of identification whereby communists strive to arouse favorable responses and associations among people.

Communists work on the assumption that symbols, used often enough, ultimately become identified in the public mind. The common body of symbols created by the Communist Party helps to preserve its consciousness (7) (8) of identity.

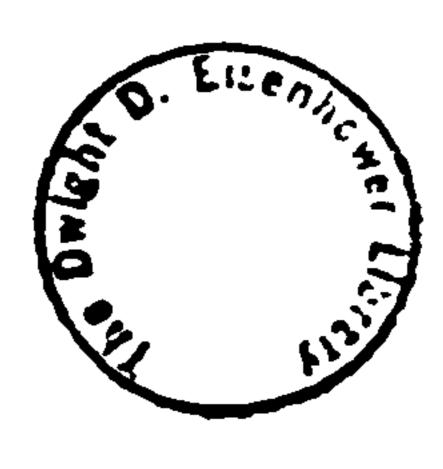


The hammer and sickle are a symbol of communism, signifying the unity of the worker and the peasant working together in a common endeavor to bring about a new socialist world. Symbolization is also expressed in the claim of communists that the Communist Party represents the "workers," "working class," "toilers," "masses," "proletariat," and "oppressed." Symbolization is apparent too in the repeated efforts of the Communist Party to identify itself as representative of the "people" and (9) as opposed to "big business."

C. Respectability

The necessity for and the usefulness of being accepted as legitimate participants in the American political scene have always been recognized and emphasized by communists. Respectability is needed to guarantee the right of the Communist Party to function effectively. Much communist propaganda, therefore, is devised and intended to gain legitimacy and respectability for the Communist Party in the minds of the (10) American people.

This desire for respectability and legitimacy is what has prompted the Party to nominate communist candidates for election to public office, even when there has been no expectation that they would be elected.



The mere fact that communist candidates have run for office, regardless of the outcome of their campaigns, has been of invaluable assistance in strengthening the Communist Party's claim to being a "legal" and "legitimate" American political party.

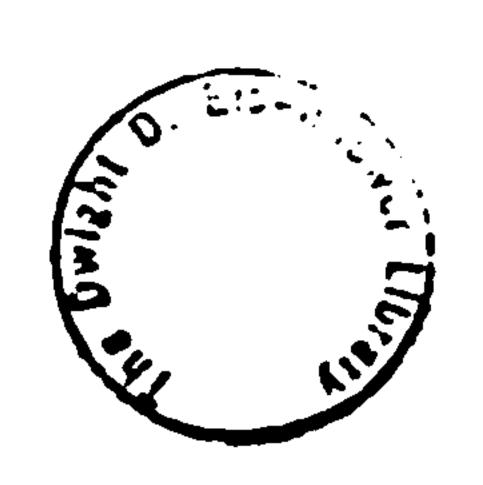
The attempt of the Communist Party to assume the mantle of respectability and legitimacy was proclaimed in the following words of the preamble of the constitution adopted by the Communist Party, USA, at its 16th National Convention in February, 1957:

"THE COMMUNIST PARTY of the United States is an American working-class political organization which bases itself upon the principles of scientific socialism..."

"... These universally valid principles the Communist Party of the U. S. A. interprets, applies and strives to develop further in accordance with the requirements of the American class struggle; democratic traditions and customs...." (11)

D. Cloak of Virtue

The cloak of virtue technique -- also known as the halo device -is widely resorted to by communists. They are forever picturing themselves as champions of the working class, minorities, Negroes, the oppressed,
the poor, the underprivileged, and the downtrodden, their only concern
(12)
being the "welfare" and "betterment" of the people.



Communists invariably portray the Soviet Union as wearing the cloak of virtue. The USSR, according to American communists, is "peace-loving," striving and working ceaselessly and patiently for peace and understanding between all nations.

E. Stereotyping

Stereotyping consists of establishing a common impression for the public to adopt or to apply to various people, countries, or ideas.

Communist propagandists have been particularly active in creating and (13) perpetuating certain propaganda images.

Capitalist "bosses" are depicted as greedy, callous, and ruthless. The names of such wealthy and respected American families as the Rockefellers, Mellons, Du Ponts, and Morgans, are used to epitomize "big business," heartless and insensitive to the "masses" and desirous only of amassing more wealth and power.

F. Rose-Cclored Glasses

The technique of the rose-colored glasses is employed by communists to describe the advancements and accomplishments of world communism in general and the development and achievements of the USSR in particular. The Soviet Union and other communist-ruled countries are always referred to in glowing and enthusiastic terms.

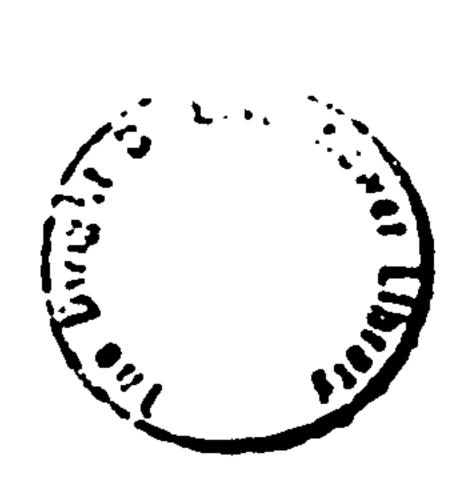


Communists wax lyrical and resort to superlatives whenever they mention the Soviet Union -- the "tremendous industrial miracles" it has achieved, the "glorious record" of the "heroic" Red Army in World War II, the "new" political, economic, intellectual, and cultural freedom "guaranteed and enjoyed" by "socialist man and woman." In the eyes of communists, everything is good and worth while in the communist world; communists have found the way to Utopia.

G. Deification

Communist propaganda has made a fetish of deifying communist leaders -- especially Soviet leaders. These communist "heroes" are placed on pedestals and endowed with superhuman qualities of leadership, courage, and foresight. To them are attributed giant intellects, infallible judgments, and simple, kirdly personalities. This is called the deification, (14) or leader, device.

V. I. Lenin was deified originally, with Joseph Stalin as his 'beloved' pupil. The adulation accorded Stalin -- particularly in the latter years of his life -- was particularly fulsome and cloying. This was evidenced in a statement issued by the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, at the time of his death in March, 1953:



"In spite of the vile slanders and abuses against this great and just man of the people, which the hysterical and frightened capitalist warmengers attempt frantically to fan up in our country, Joseph Stalin was the best loved man on earth, enshrined in the hearts of the people everywhere, to whose well-being his life was selflessly devoted." (15)

Since the subsequent revelations of Stalin's true character, however, the Stalin myth has been completely repudiated.

In addition to Lenin and Stalin, American communists have built up a whole galaxy of other fereign communist and socialist leaders whom they have glorified over the years -- Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels, Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Giacomo Matteotti, Henri Barbusse, and James Larkin, among many others.

The first American communist "hero" was John Reed, who died in Moscow in 1920 and was buried in the Kremlin. Reed has been described as supplying the "heart and soul" of American communism, and much (16) lavish praise has been heaped on him. A few of the other American "working-class" leaders exalted by communists have been Eugene V. Debs, "Big Bill" Haywood, Tom Mooney, Charles E. Ruthenberg, "Mother" Bloor, and J. Louis Engdahl.

American communist leaders, such as Earl Browder and Eugene Dennis, frequently have been photographed, pipe in mouth, in a meditative and reflective mood, as if weighing the problems of the present and surveying the hopes of the future.

H. Plain Folks

The plain folks device is a time-honored method by which communists seek to identify themselves -- and particularly their leaders -- as simple, plain, and kindly folk, just like everybody else. In this manner, (17) (18) communists try to establish a common bond between themselves and the masses.

Members of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, were once described in these words:

"...here are the typical Communists. How different they look from the cartoonists' libels! They are average Americans in looks and appearance, they lean to conservative colors and styles in clothes, their manners are good, their dispositions calm. There's not a whisker in the place!

"They are workers, parents, citizens, veterans, consumers, trade unionists, farmers, professionals -- a cross section of the vorthwhile people in America. They are of all ages, likeable, warmhearted, nct afraid to laugh or show anthusiasm, hating poverty, exploitation, cruelty, injustice, inequality, anywhere in the world....

"Any average American would feel at home with them..." (19)

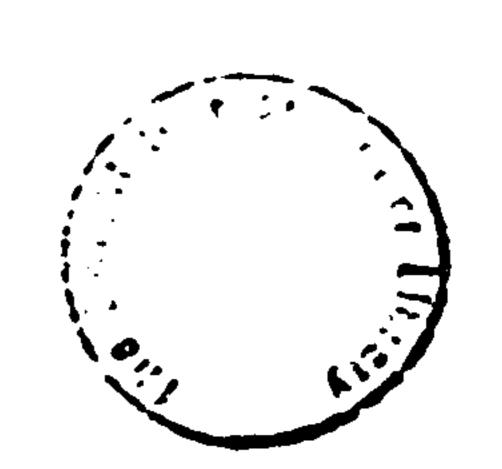
A communist writer has described Eugene Dennis, one of the present-day top American communist leaders, as a "simple man, a gentle man" who has "fought loreliness all his life." Dennis, the writer said, "derives" from the "simple and ordinary and good" people and "is (20) like them."

Communist propaganda constantly stresses the "working-class" origin of American communist leaders. Actually, few, if any, of them can claim such backgrounds. Virtually all the principal leaders have devoted full time to Communist Party activity since their youth, and the sum total of their actual outside work records consists of only a year or two during their late teens or early 20's. Yet, their former employment, brief though it may be, is invariably highlighted in public characterizations of them to give the impression they have sprung from and been nurtured in the soil of the working class.

I. Distortion

Through distortion or exaggeration, communists warp and twist some semblance of truth to serve a desired end. The distortion, of course, bears some element of truth and sounds believable to the unsuspecting (21) public.

One of the most vicicus and blasphemous distortions by communist propagandists involves Jesus Christ. On a number of occasions, the communist press has reproduced a carton in the form of a reward notice for the arrest of Jesus Christ, wanted for "Sedition, Criminal Anarchy, Vagrancy, and Conspiring to Overthrow the Established Government." Christ is described as a "professional agitator" who "associates with



common working people." The implication is clear that if Christ were alive today, the United States Government would arrest Him for "subversive" activities, just as American communist leaders have been arrested over the years for "similar" activities. (22)

J. Timing

Timing is an important factor in the field of propaganda. To reap the greatest harvest from propaganda, it must be released at the proper moment, when the time is ripe. From their earliest days, communists have been singularly alert to capitalize instantly on every propaganda opportunity which presents itself. (23)

In early 1924, for example, the Workers Party of America, by which name the Communist Party, USA, was then known, sent a directive to all Party units. This communication instructed them to initiate a campaign at once to exploit the Teapot Dome oil scandal which had just broken. The directive noted:

- "... The Teapot Dome scandal offers the best opportunity for focusing the eyes of the workers and farmers upon the government and Congress....
- "... We must utilize the Teapot Dome scandal to expose the connection between finance capital and government. We must make every effort to destroy the democratic illustions* of the masses."

^{*}Spelling as in original.

K. Staging

Staging likewise occupies an important part in the presentation of propaganda. Frequently a dramatic and colorful setting will provide an effective backdrop for a propaganda idea. Mass meetings, demonstrations, and picketings are but a few of the types of staging resorted to by (24) communists.

An original piece of communist staging was contrived in May, 1951, by an organization called the Veterans' Committee to Save Willie McGee. McGee, a Mississippi Negro, had been convicted of rape and sentenced to be executed. Forty-five World War II veterans chained themselves to the pillars of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D. C., shouting "Lincoln freed the slaves; Truman free McGee." Two hundred and fifty more veterans, wearing shirts emblazoned "Free Willie McGee," marched around the foot of the steps leading to this national shrine. A short distance away, in front of the White House, 200 pickets paraded to demand that President Harry Truman take action to save McGee's life.



III. TECHNIQUES FOR MANIPULATING THE ISSUE

Various techniques are used by communists for manipulating the issue in order to develop and achieve favorable reaction to and association with communist aims and policies. Devices of this sort rely on emphasizing, minimizing, ignoring, or twisting facts to serve communist ends. The leading methods include the following: card-stacking, glittering generalities, transfer, big lie, red herring, carrot-and-stick, reviving a dead issue, (25) and emotional appeal.

A. Card-Stacking

The card-stacking, or selection of material, device is an old propaganda trick to bolster a point or an argument. This technique stresses, minimizes, or omits certain facts, as the occasion demands. In short, (26) the cards are stacked against the truth.

Communists will quote Thomas Jefferson's advocacy of revolution, but they will ignore what he said about States' rights. Abraham Lincoln is another great American whom communists are fond of quoting, but here again they will quote him only when it serves their purpose.

William Z. Foster, a long-time American communist leader, in commenting on Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev's secret report in February, 1956, which outlined Joseph Stalin's crimes, attempted to minimize or excuse these crimes. He maintained that Stalin's excesses grew out of:

"...the severe trials and struggles of the Soviet people during the past generation, throughout the period of Stalin's leadership. To meet these tasks required imperatively a high degree of centralization and a strong discipline, without which failure must have ensued.

"Among these vitally urgent tasks may be mentioned, the prolonged struggle against the inner and outer Party opposition, the long-continued, monumental effort to industrialize the country; the formulation and application of several five-year plans; the carrying through of the bitter world war against Hitlerism; the vital test of Soviet strength during the cold war in recent years, the struggle for the policy of peaceful co-existence, and many others. Under such circumstances, which demanded the last ounce of effort upon the part of the Soviet people, it was not difficult to fall into Stalin's command methods of leadership." (27)

B. Glittering Generalities

Glittering generalities are broad, high-sounding, and innocuous statements which have wide appeal to most people, but which are so general and so vague that there can be no controversy over them. The constant reference by communists to such words and phrases as peace, democracy, equality, liberty, freedom, progress, and the American way -- all of which connote shiny and virtuous ideals and principles -- are typical of the glittering generalities consistently used by communist propagandists.

An excerpt from the preamble of the current constitution of the Communist Party, USA, affords a good illustration of the use of glittering generalities:

"The Communist Party upholds the achievements of American democracy and defends the United States Constitution and its Bill of Rights, particularly the 14th and 15th Amendments which guarantee equality to the American Negro, against those who would destroy democracy. It fights uncompromisingly against imperialism and colonial oppression, for curbing and breaking the power of monepely, against racial, national and religious discrimination, anti-Semitism and all forms of chauvinism. It regards the struggle to wipe out the system of jimcrowism and to win immediate and full citizenship and unconditional equality for the Negro people as basic to the fight for democracy." (29)

C. Transfer

Transfer is a technique used by communists by which they seek to capitalize on and carry over the authority, sanction, and prestige of ideas and principles people respect and cherish in order to make their (30) own ideas and aims acceptable.

Communists extol Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin,
Abraham Lincoln, Tom Paine, the Declaration of Independence, the
Constitution, and the Emancipation Proclamation in an effort to transfer
some of the aura which surrounds these illustricus men and historic
documents.

Jefferson has been referred to by communists as "one of our (31) own great revolutionary theoreticians." Communists have always made much of the fact that Lincoln appointed a communist named Joseph Weydemeyer a Union officer during the Civil War. They also like to recall that Lincoln and Karl Marx exchanged some correspondence.

Communists have a penchant for naming their clubs after
American heroes. This was especially true during the 1940's when
their clubs bore such names as Thomas Jefferson, Tom Paine, Walt Whitman,
Ben Franklin, Abe Lincoln, Frederick Douglass, George Washington Carver,
and similar names.

The propaganda value of traditional American holidays is similarly recognized and exploited by communists. Independence Day, in recent years, has served to provide them with an occasion when they issue an appeal to defend the principles of the Declaration of Independence, to preserve the Constitution and the Bill of Rights, and to demand an end to "political witch hunts" and "mass arrests."

D. Big Lie

The big lie is a favorite communist propaganda technique.

The big lie is calculated to play on one of the most deep-seated human emotions -- the willingness of people to believe that "where there's smoke, (32) there's fire."

The allegation of germ warfare in the Korean War exemplifies the lengths to which communists will go in perpetrating the big lie. American communists echoed the false accusations made by Chinese and North Korean communists to the effect that the American Armed Forces were resorting to bacteriological warfare.

In the Spring of 1952, <u>Political Affairs</u>, * the monthly theoretical organ of the Communist Party, USA, published a document prepared by Frederic Joliot-Curie, president of the World Peace Council, ** which is an international communist front organization. This document was presented to the world to show that the United States was using bacteriological weapons in Korea. In a preface, the editor of <u>Political Affairs</u> stated that the document focused:

"...the flocdlight of truth on the perpetrators of bacteriological warfare. The Pentagon's cynical rejections of the accusations, together with the prevalent censorship, have prevented the knowledge of this crime from reaching the people. But the same forces that bombed Nagasaki and Hiroshima, that used napalm bombs, now seek to wage genecidal warfare against the colonial peoples and drown their national-liberation struggles in blood...." (33)

E. Red Herring

The red herring, or substitution, device is one used extensively by communists. By this technique, they attempt to distract or divert attention from the true facts or issue by concentrating on some extraneous matter. This method tends to be cloud the issue by setting up a substitute or diversionary issue. In other words, communists strive to throw the (34) opposition off the trail by dragging a red herring across the path.

^{*} Cited by the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, United States House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., January 2, 1957, pp. 106-107.

** Ibid., p. 96.

As a consequence of the campaign to demolish the "cult of the individual" developed by Stalin, American communists proceeded to show how re-evaluation and reassessment of government policies and practices could only happen in communist countries. They endeavored to divert attention from Stalin's excesses by pointing out the measures taken by Soviet leaders to rectify these crimes. They contended that a similar wholesale review of the shortcomings and errors of political leaders in capitalist countries, such as the United States, would be impossible.

Eugene Dennis, in a statement, admitted that Stalin had committed "shocking crimes and crass violations of socialist law and ethics." But he then raised a substitute issue by attacking the State Department:

"How hypocritical is their effort to sensationalize and make capital of the Soviet Union's determined effort to erase the abuses against socialist justice and democracy! One need only mention that the State Department is not prevented from extelling the 'merits' of fascist Spain by Franco's crimes against the people. It is not bothered by the indescribable corruption, degeneracy, and rottenness of the puppet regime of Chiang Kai-shek...." (35)

The red herring was resorted to by the national committee of the Communist Party, USA, in an open letter to Party members, in its efforts to explain and justify the use of Soviet troops in the Hungarian rebellion of October, 1956:

"The recent events--and even the very serious mistakes which led up to them--are very much connected with the fact that since the end of World War II, capitalism and our own government, in particular, has carried on an unremitting cold war against the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. Much of the economic and other difficulties in these countries can be traced in no small measure to the effects of this cold war.

"Moreover, the efforts of the Soviet Union to correct the relations between Socialist States is being hampered by the continuation of the cold war, by the attempts of various imperialist groupings to capitalize on past mistakes as well as to make use of the present efforts at correction for their own reactionary purposes." (36)

F. Carrot and Stick

The carrot-and-stick, or no-alternative, technique is calculated to offer the people two or more choices when, in reality, there is only one. This device has been used repeatedly by communists during the "cold war" of recent years. By promises, they appeal to people's desire (37) (38) for peace, and by threats they capitalize on people's fear of war.

The carrot-and-stick technique was embodied in an article which appeared in Political Affairs during the Korean War. The article was written by Gus Hall, then a member of the national committee of the Communist Party, USA. Hall warned:

"... It is of the utmost importance that the people know Stalin's statement that it is still possible to prevent the spread of the war and that it is still possible peacefully to settle all disputes. But it is just as important for the masses to know also Stalin's statement that unless the leaders of the war camp take advantage of these opportunities for peaceful negotiations their defeat will inevitably follow." (39)

G. Reviving a Dead Issue

Communists often employ the device known as reviving a dead or an extinct issue, or flogging a dead horse. It is convenient for them, on occasions, to resurrect old controversies or campaigns and tie them in (40) or compare them with some current event or issue.

Periodically, communists have revived the story of the so-called "Red Raids" of Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer, in 1919-1920, when several thousand alien subversives were arrested for deportation by the United States Government. The story of these "raids" is frequently exhumed to show that a similar pattern has been pursued by the Government in recent years in connection with the arrests of numerous communists for deportation and for violation of the Smith Act. *

The "frame-up" of Tom Mooney 40 years ago is another favorite tale related by communists. Mooney, at that time, was a labor organizer in San Francisco. He and several other persons were arrested and convicted as participants in a bomb explosion which killed eleven persons during the Preparedness Day parade in that city in 1916. Mooney was sentenced to death but his sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. Until the

^{*} The Smith Act makes it unlawful for anyone to knowingly teach and advocate the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the United States Government by force or violence. The Act was passed by Congress in 1940.



Governor of California pardoned him in 1939, the Communist Party and communist front groups, together with a number of other organizations, sought unsuccessfully to obtain a new trial for him.

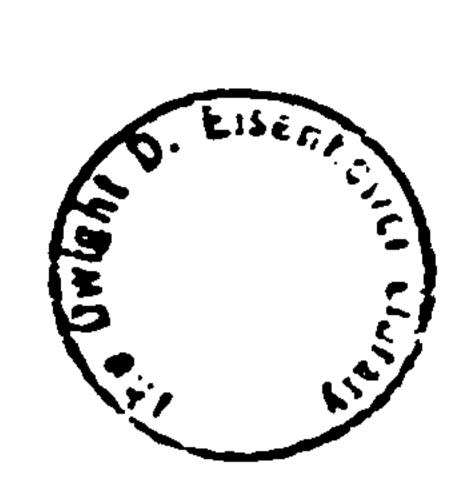
Despite the fact that Mooney died in 1942, communist propagandists have kept hammering away at his "frame-up" and the "blot" on American justice. As late as July, 1956, The Worker* carried a lengthy article on the Mooney case in which it was charged that Mooney and his codefendants (41) had been "framed" by "big employers."

H. Emotional Appeal

The emotional appeal is another propaganda technique commonly resorted to by communists. Such appeals are designed to stimulate and arouse the emotional reactions and responses of people so that they can (42) be directed to desired communist ends.

Evictions of the poor are publicized in the communist press to arouse the hostility of the masses against landlords and the capitalist system. Similarly, lynchings and instances of so-called "police brutality" are propagandized to tear down respect for law enforcement agencies.

The maudlin approach is also practiced on occasions. Irving Potash is a case in point. Potash was one of eleven communist leaders convicted in the 1949 Smith Act trial in New Yor City. On his release * The Worker is the Sunday edition of the Daily Worker, which is an east coast communist newspaper.



from prison in 1955, he accepted voluntary deportation to his native

Poland. Following his illegal entry into the United States, he was arrested

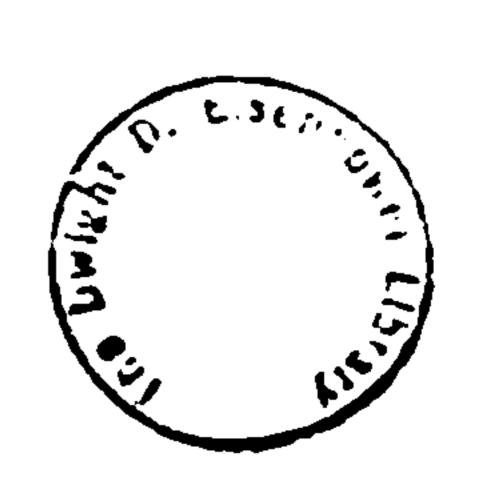
by the FBI in January, 1957. In explaining his re-entry to this country,

he said: "That was the only way open to me to see my family. I couldn't

see them in any other way without jeopardizing their liberty or involving

(43)

them in a conspiracy."



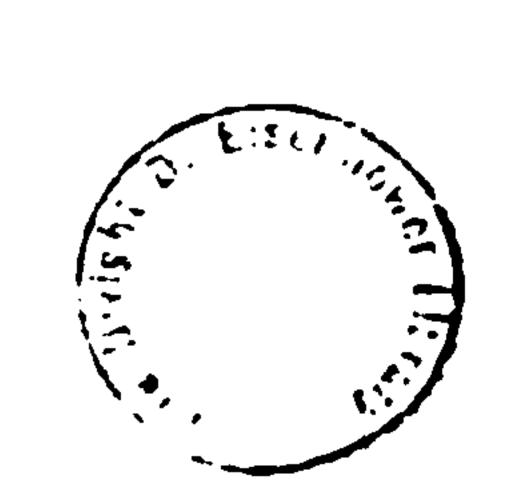
IV. TECHNIQUES FOR ESTABLISHING PROOF

A number of techniques are utilized by communists for establishing "proof." Through such devices, communists strive to support or augment communist claims and programs. The main methods under this category are: band wagon, testimonial, scientific, historic, (44) statistics, and repetition.

A. Band Wagon

The band wagon technique exploits people's gregarious instinct to follow the crowd rather than to be considered out of step. It is used (45) both to bolster a viewpoint and to convince others that they are out of line.

Communists like to regard themselves as people having a "rendezvous with destiny," people who are "riding the wave of the future." They boast that "the forward march of socialism is irresistible." By projecting this belief and this confidence, communists seek to create the impression that communism is all-powerful and all-embracing and will soon be the dominant force throughout the world. For this reason, they urge everybody to jump on the communist band wagon.



B. Testimonial

In the testimonial, or endorsement, device, the testimony or endorsement of others -- usually persons of prominence and prestige -- is employed to persuade people to accept or reject some proposal, view, policy, or program. Communists make wide use of this technique by securing well-known individuals to sign open letters, issue statements, and subscribe to petitions which endorse or disapprove something in which (46) communists are interested.

In the Summer of 1942, by way of illustration, a number of noted American authors, college professors, and other intellectuals issued a statement on the necessity of immediately opening a second front in Europe.

The Communist Party gave much publicity to the action of the late Theodore Ereiser, the famous author, when he asked to join the Communist Party in 1945. His letter of application for membership was hailed by communists as "moving and eloquent testimonial of his faith in the people and in the working class," and a "stinging rebuke to (47) the red-baiters."

C. Scientific

The technique of calling upon so-called "scientific" facts is an old communist propaganda stand-by, the reason being that science commands

respect and solidifies acceptance and belief among many people. Communists are forever emphasizing that communism is based on the principles of "scientific socialism" which are both "immutable and infallible." This "scientific" base, they insist, makes communism infinitely superior to capitalism and to all other systems of government which have no "scientific" (48) foundation.

William Z. Foster stressed the "scientific" aspect of communism in a recent book:

"The first great source of strength of the Communist parties in all countries is their scientific Marxist-Leninist theory. This is their brain stuff, their nerve system, their life blood. Communist theory is all-comprehensive, dealing with practically every phase of human society -- economic, political, military, literary, artistic, scientific, philosophical. Marxism-Leninism gives Communists a strong, dynamic, materialistic conception of life, creating for them an endless perspective of the development of freedom, prosperity, and the progress of man....

"Marxist-Leninist theory equips Communists with a penetrating scientific method of social analysis which is altogether on a higher plane than the crude rule-of-thumb methods of capitalist ideologists. This Marxist science makes clear the lessons of history, and it also lays bare the fundamental significance of current political developments. It explains the economic and political laws that have operated to bring about the rise of capitalism, and also the forces that are leading inexorably to the decay of that system and the establishment of socialism...." (49)

D. Historic

The historic technique is another favorite device constantly invoked by communists to give credence and validity to their propaganda.

They are fond of maintaining that history is on their side. They repeatedly refer to their "historic mission" by which, of course, they mean the violent seizure of power, the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the abolition of capitalism, and the formation of a (50) new, communist society.

The preamble to the current constitution of the Communist

Party, USA, contains the statement that "the Communist Party seeks to

advance the understanding of the working class in its day-to-day struggles

(51)

for its historic mission, the establishment of socialism."

William Z. Foster used the historic technique several years ago when he declared that capitalism is in its final stage and "is historically slated to go, and go it will, regardless of its desperate (52) struggle to survive."

E. Statistics

Statistics afford communists a propaganda technique which they have utilized to the fullest in recent years. Figures are proudly and freely dispensed by them at the slightest opportunity as incontrovertible (53) "proof" of the rising tide of communism throughout the world.

A recent article in <u>Political Affairs</u> cited the advances made by international communism in the last four decades:



"There are now 17 countries which are either actually building Socialism or are definitely orientating in that direction. These are the U. S. S. R., People's China, Poland, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Rumania, Albania, Outer Mongolia, North Korea, North Viet Nam, and Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania (which voted themselves into the Soviet Union) and Tibet which joined People's China. Together these countries embrace 900,000,000 people, or about 40 percent of the world's population. They constitute the beginning of the new Socialist world." (54)

Statistics were quoted by communists in an effort to instill fear and defeatism in American troops in Korea. The following message appeared in a communist leaflet dropped on a Korean battlefield in the Spring of 1954:

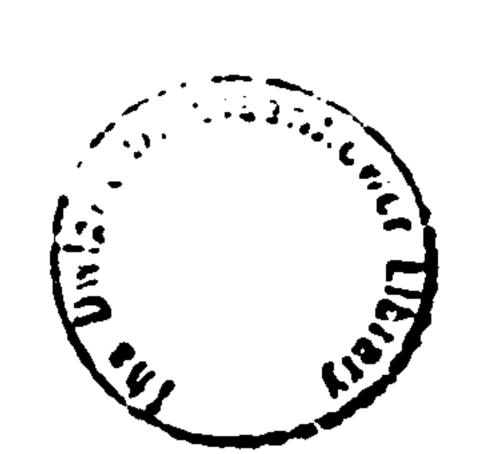
"NEW CHINA IS NOT LIKE THE OLD

"NFW CHINA is strong. Her sons stand guard over her new-found freedom and happiness. They are not afraid to die for it. A staunch friend to those who respect her as an equal, she will fight and defeat anyone who threatens or interferes with her or her neighbors."

"You cannot beat 500 million Chinese and the Koreans too -- and you know it."

F. Repetition

An outstanding characteristic of communist propaganda is its repetition. All communist propaganda is repetitious, particularly slogans. Slogans are repeated endlessly and ceaselessly. The communist theory, of course, is that if propaganda is repeated often enough, people will (55) eventually begin to accept it as the truth.



The arrest, trial, or conviction of a communist for any reason whatsoever invariably results in a vehement declaration of his innocence by the communist press and a claim that he was the "victim" of a "frame-up." The charge of "frame-up" is repeated every time the case is referred to, obviously with the hope that if the charge is reiterated, people will ultimately believe that a "frame-up" actually took place.

V. TECHNIQUES FOR NEUTRALIZING THE OPPOSITION

Counterpropaganda is employed by communists for the purpose of damaging, neutralizing, or destroying the opposition. The principal devices of this type used are: smearing, black and white contrast, (56) insinuation, ridicule, martyrdom, and soul-searching.

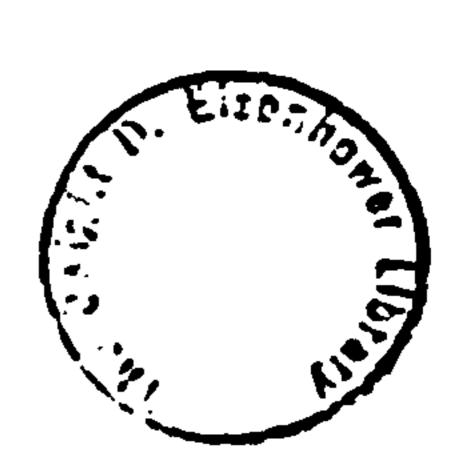
A. Smearing

Smearing, frequently known as name calling or character assassination, is an old and much-used propaganda technique. Smearing employs colorful, descriptive, and derisive names or expressions -- often alliterative and euphonious, as in the case of slogans. Smearing is deliberately designed to establish an unfavorable impression on or reaction (57) from the public.

Communists are past masters in the art of creating scurrilous, slanderous, and defamatory terms and using them against their enemies.

The communist lexicon of smear words and expressions is a complete one, dirty and dog-eared from constant usage.

The favorite odious word communists hurl at their enemies is
"Fascist." "Fascist;" "reactionary," "imperialist," and "warmonger"
are epithets normally reserved for high United States Government officials,

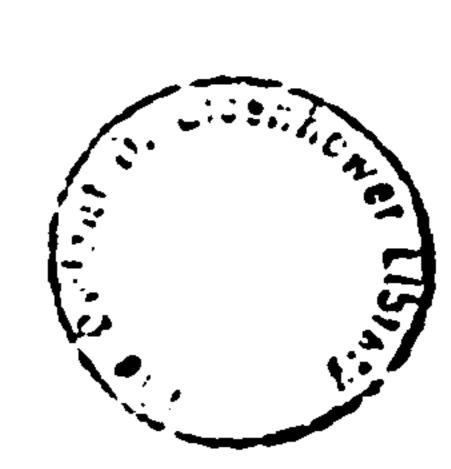


congressmen, military leaders, industrialists, labor leaders, financiers, and wealthy persons. There have been few Americans outstanding in the life of our Nation during the last quarter of a century who have not had one or all of these words leveled at them at one time or another.

Other choice words and expressions in the communists' arsenal for use in the verbal war against their enemies are: "Red-baiter," "witch-hunter," "isolationist," "economic royalist," "anti-Semite," "racist," "dollar-patriot," "book-burner," "atomaniac," "Dixiecrat," "misleader of labor," "white supremist," "Cadillac cabinet," "frame-up," and "fat cats of Wall Street."

Legislation or government action which communists disapprove are described by them as "unconstitutional," "illegal," "repressive," "an attempt at thought control," "a violation of civil rights," "the product of a police state mentality," or "an irrevocable step in the direction of a fascist United States."

Communists are particularly merciless and vitriolic in their condemnation of ex-communists who testify against them in court or before congressional committees. Just as gangsters kill those who betray them, communists resort to every type of vilification and vituperation to



discredit or destroy those who turn against them. It is not uncommon for the Communist Party to accuse former communists of personal depravity or financial corruption in order to make it appear that he was unworthy of belonging to the Party and in order to destroy his testimony before the noncommunist world.

Some of the most commonly used smear words which have been heaped on ex-communists by their former comrades are: "Browderite," "factionalist," "right opportunist," "disruptionist," "Trotskyite," "renegade," "Titoist," "white chauvinist," "turncoat," "rat," "spy," "stool pigeon," "informer," "scandalmonger," "scab," "swindler," "thief," "mbezzler," "coward," "weakling," "drunkard," and "sexual degenerate."

Victor "ravchenko, an official of the Soviet Government Purchasing Commission in Washington, D. C., during World War II, who defected from the Soviets in 1944, is a case in point. The day after Kravchenko testified before a congressional committee, the <u>Daily Worker</u> denounced him as one of a number of "scoundrels, renegades, phonies and just plain jerks trying to make a fast buck the easy way." He was called a "pocket-edition Benedict Arnold" who joined "a host of now-forgotten mediocrities who had their brief day of glory with harum-scarum tales of the big bad (58)

'Communist menace.'"



B. Black and White Contrast

A notable distinction of communist propaganda is its simple, positive, self-righteous tone. Communist propaganda is devoid of any shadings or delineations, and ignores the accomplishments or merits of the opposition. The black and white technique invariably paints

(59)

communists as 100 per cent right and their enemies as 100 per cent wrong.

Communism is always depicted as "good" and leading to peace and progress. Capitalism, on the other hand, is invariably pictured as "evil" and leading to war and depression. Communist propagandists constantly contrast purported concern for the public welfare in the USSR with alleged neglect of it in capitalist countries, specifically the United States.

The black and white contrast is particularly evident in the communist peace theme of recent years. Communists invariably show the contrast between the "peace-leving" Soviet Union, working ceaselessly and patiently toward universal peace, and the image of the United States as an "aggressive, fire-eating, warmongering" Nation, "feverishly" preparing to unleash World War III.

C. Insinuation

The insinuation method is used by communists to suggest or impute some sinister, malevolent, or devious attitude, association, or action (60) on the part of their enemies.



Photographs, cartoons, news stories, and feature articles in the communist press continually present prominent Americans in an unflattering, uncomplimentary, or distorted manner to make them appear to be evil, stupid, or comical.

Communists long have resorted to the practice of running photographs in the communist press showing well-known Americans hobnobbing with Nazis and Fascists before World War II. William Randolph Hearst, the late publisher, was a prime whipping boy in this respect. Hearst was dubbed "Der Fuehrer of San Simeon" by the communist press. The Daily Worker has often published a photograph of him posing, in 1934, with Nazi propaganda chief Albert Rosenberg and three other Nazi officials during a trip he made to Germany. Another photograph of Hearst, frequently reproduced in the Daily Worker, has been touched up to show his lips curled, exposing fanglike teeth.

D. Ridicule

Ridicule is a keen and devastating propaganda instrument for disparaging and caricaturing the enemy. It is a favorite technique by which (61) communists show their contempt for the opposition.

A communist front organization took a half-page advertisement in a Los Angeles newspaper, in the Spring of 1956, to lampoon the House Committee on Un-American Activities which was scheduled to conduct hearings in Los Angeles. This advertisement read, in part, as follows:

"Attention music lovers! A history-making cultural event is scheduled for Los Angeles April 16! For the first time in its sordid history, the House Un-American Committee will 'investigate' musicians! Can music be subversive? The committee will find out!....

"Subpoenas for the command performance - a sort of Silly Symphony in the Star Chamber - have been served upon 35 leading Los Angeles musicians. Our nation's security will be safeguarded by asking such questions as: Are you or have you ever been fortissimo? Do you believe in allegro, bent notes or blues in the night? Do you dig bop? Where do you stand on the use of force and violins?...."

E. Martyrdom

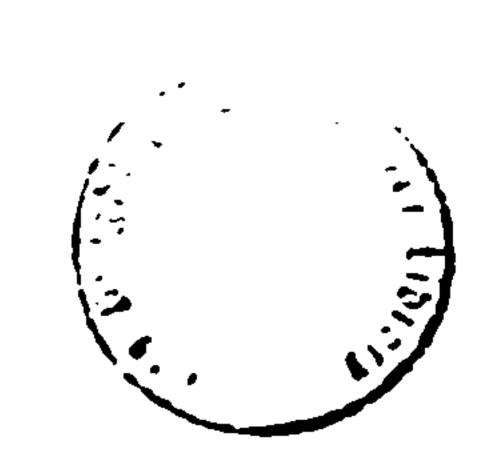
Communists make frequent use of the martyrdom technique.

Communists who are killed in war or strikes, or who are jailed cr

deported, are raised to martyrdom to commemorate the inevitable
(62)

casualties of the never-ending "class struggle."

Joe Hill, a Swedish-born labor organizer who was executed in Utah in 1915 for murder, is an esteemed communist martyr, revered in song as "The Man Who Never Died." Communists are fond of quoting Hill's last words, allegedly spoken while he faced the firing squad: "Don't mourn for me, organize."



A few typical communist martyrs who have given their lives to the cause of communism include: Joe York, a 19-year-old Young Communist League organizer, killed in a communist-led hunger strike riot in Detroit in 1932; Ben Leider, a communist newspaperman, killed in combat in 1937 during the Spanish Civil War; and Hank Forbes, a Communist Party organizer, who died at Anzio, Italy, during World War II.

The death of a prominent communist leader always furnishes the occasion for a lavish funeral and extravagant tributes. The comrades will vow to carry on his or her work and pledge to build a "bigger, stronger Communist Party," more "steeled" than ever.

F. Soul-Searching

Soul-searching, or breast-beating, plays an important propaganda role in the communist movement. Through criticism and self-criticism, communists take themselves to task for their past mistakes and derelictions. By ruefully admitting their errors and solemnly promising to rectify them in the future, communists can justify and adjust themselves to any and all changes in the domestic or international communist line.

Illustrative of the soul-searching device are some excerpts from a <u>Daily Worker</u> editorial relating to the revelations of the crimes committed during Stalin's regime:

* Cited by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

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'We were wrong, terribly wrong....

"We did not want to believe these crimes could occur in a socialist state and so we refused to believe....

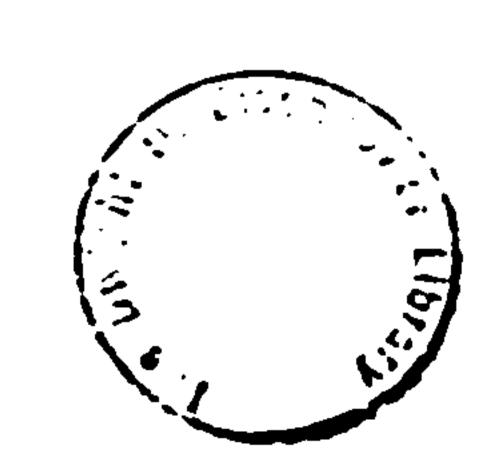
"... Is there reason... why cur fellow Americans should listen now to what we say, and shake our hands in friendship?

"In full consciousness of the end to which our blindness led us and the responsibility which we bear for the divisiveness and bitterness we helped to bring about, we say that there is."

"We are proud that we speak for socialism. We are proud that, until the people of this country are ready to see that socialism is the answer to depressions and injustice, to great wealth and great poverty, we will speak out as we always have, to right every wrong and champion every democratic cause that can be won under the present economic system." (63)

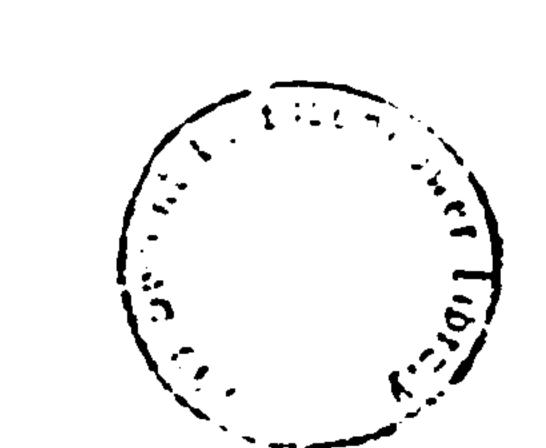
As ingenious, imaginative, and skillful as communist propagandists are, it is safe to predict that, in the future, they will continue to rely on the tried and true devices they have employed so expertly and effectively in the past. They can also be expected to be alert to develop and add new techniques to their already extensive repertoire in their ceaseless efforts to influence and manipulate the minds of the American people to further communist goals.





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